DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 380 358 SO 024 417

AUTHOR Shiozawa, Tadashi; And Others
TITLE Working Conditions and Career Parameters in the Educational Environment for Foreign Teachers of Languages in Japan: Conflict and Resolution, Discrimination, and Empowerment.
PUB DATE 93
NOTE 40p.
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Journal Articles (080)
JOURNAL CIT Journal of International Studies; v3 n10 p157-194 1993

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Conflict Resolution; Foreign Countries; *Foreign Nationals; *Institutional Environment; International Educational Exchange; *Language Teachers; Second Language Instruction; Social Discrimination; *Teaching Conditions
IDENTIFIERS *Japan

ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to identify invisible factors influencing language institutions in Japan that consciously or unconsciously treat non-Japanese teachers in a totally different way from the way they treat their Japanese counterparts. Among the factors are the social, organizational, and legal parameters surrounding non-Japanese teachers in Japan. The objectives of this paper are to: (1) describe these social and legal factors of language education in Japan that might lead to a conflict between foreign language teachers and each institution; (2) delineate the overall organization of language education; (3) assess the government policies effecting language education; and (4) describe the classroom environment and management styles. The study also addresses conflict response and resolution as it relates to the factors described. The problems non-Japanese people face in education at any level are rooted in the Japanese business and governmental communities' deep abiding regard for political, national, racial, and commercial priorities that usually contradict or fail to accommodate educational prerogatives. These priorities are rooted deeply in historical attitudes toward education. The problems can be articulated by educators in general and non-Japanese in particular, but until the Japanese communities begin to demand responsible administration as a whole and quality language education specifically, there is little hope for any real change in the near future. Contains 20 references. (DK)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 380 358

Working Conditions and Career Parameters in the Educational Environment for Foreign Teachers of Languages in Japan: Conflict and Resolution, Discrimination, and Empowerment

Tadashi SHIOZAWA
Thomas SIMMONS
Kentaro NODA

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

★ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

□ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

TADASHI SHIOZAWA

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)"

中部大学
国際関係学部
紀要No.10抜刷
1993・3

SO 024 417

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Working Conditions and Career Parameters in the Educational Environment for Foreign Teachers of Languages in Japan: Conflict and Resolution, Discrimination, and Empowerment

Tadashi SHIOZAWA*

Thomas SIMMONS**

Kentaro NODA***

I. INTRODUCTION

In the preliminary study on the educational working conditions for foreign teachers of foreign languages in Japan conducted by the authors in 1990, it was found that the turnover rate was extremely high at a number of institutions compared to that of Japanese teachers of foreign languages. Among the most common reasons cited by the non-Japanese teachers to leave schools were unethical school practices, lack of challenge, and lack of job security as well as insufficient salary. However, the authors suspect there are even bigger invisible factors influencing language institutions which consciously or unconsciously treat non-Japanese teachers in a totally different way from the way they treat their Japanese counterparts. Among them are the social, organizational, and legal parameters surrounding non-Japanese teachers in Japan. The objectives of this paper are to describe these social and legal factors of language education in Japan which might lead to a conflict between foreign language teachers and each institution, delineate the overall organization of language education, assess the government policies effecting language education, and describe the classroom environment and management styles. It will also address conflict response and resolution as it relates to the factors described above.

II. THE LEGAL AND SOCIAL PARAMETERS

1. An Organisational Perspective

* 外国語系列 (Department of Foreign Languages)

** 日本外国語専門学校 (JCFL)

*** English Conversation Center (ECC)

Laws and administrative policies influence priorities and practices at schools. Since these priorities and practices establish the basis for conflicts between administrations and teachers and influence their resolutions, an analysis will enable us to understand administration policies and issues involved in legal and social disputes through an analytical overview of the corresponding legal environments of the different situations. Let us first categorize types of schools by the manner in which they are established and glance over their features in terms of their establishment, budget, controlling laws, and legal and social aspects of the conflicts which beset them.[1]

Type One: Public Schools Accredited under School Education Law Clause One

Institutions which fall into this category are most public kindergartens, elementary schools, junior high schools, senior high schools, specialized senior high schools, junior colleges and universities. They are established by central governments or local governments. They are funded by national and local levies and legislated by councils of the Diet, prefectures or cities. The controlling public offices are the Education Ministry, Prefectural Governors, and the Prefectural Board of Education. Laws stipulate the specific characteristics of the facilities, classrooms, teachers' qualifications and their quorum, lesson credits, libraries, health care and inoculations, textbooks and a great deal more. Laws further define teachers as public officials.

At the institutions in this category, almost all aspects of school matters need to be legally accountable. The Ministry of Education and related laws provide instruction in minute detail. Teachers can be regulated at the national, regional, and local level. The day to day activities, work site, and classroom methods are in the bureaucratic domain. Administrative factors involve the Ministry of Education, governors, city councils, prefectural boards of education, school principals, faculty, teachers' unions, students, and parents and the community.

Unlawful practices are commonly stopped with the notable exception of discrimination on the basis of age, gender, race and nationality. The administration is wholly responsible for rectifying any infringement on the laws. Issues regarding the curriculum, textbooks, supplementary material, and the extraordinary limits the Ministry of Education places on non-Japanese teachers are very involved and unresolvable at the local level. The teachers' unions have had a great deal of power taken from them and as a result can no longer legally engage in industrial action.

Type Two: Private Schools Accredited under School Education Law Clause One

Most private kindergartens, elementary schools, junior high schools, senior high schools, specialized senior high schools, junior colleges and universities fall into this category. Accredited foundations for schools (Gakko Hojin), which are chartered by prefectural governors, are given permission to establish schools. Students' tuitions and tax subsidies contribute about 50% of the budget. The Controlling public offices are the Ministry of Education, Prefectural Governors, and the Prefectural Board of Education. Laws stipulate the general characteristics of the facilities, classrooms, teachers' qualifications and their quorum, lesson credits, libraries, health care and inoculations, and textbooks. There are also many subsidy related laws which exert further control over a variety of school practices.

Private schools have a great deal more freedom than public or national schools. Government control is through fiat and subsidies. These schools must actually compete with public schools, so they tend to have one or two superior features: better curricula, better facilities, better teachers, higher entrance requirements, better baseball teams – something to attract students whose families must pay tuitions that are higher than that of public schools. The school's desire to appeal to students by offering a unique English curriculum will lead to more positions for 'native speakers'. However, this effort is often mixed with other priorities that may include sending more students to better universities or showing more 'gaijin' teachers to prospective students without any serious attempts to improve the language curriculum or methodology.

Personnel matters usually rest in the hands of the principal or the board. If they do not listen, they must be compelled to do so through legal channels. For this reason, working conditions vary greatly, because of the highly personal and therefore variable nature of administrative policy. Strong opposition from the administration toward any party with a grievance may result in the event of discord. All of this demonstrates the schools' responsibility for their total working conditions, curricula, and institutional procedures. In spite of this on-site management structure, private schools are under severe scrutiny by legal and civil offices, since they receive large subsidies from public funding. Action will be taken against unlawful policies enacted by the schools' administrations if brought to the attention of the agencies with related authority.

Type Three: Rosei Gakko and other Schools (mostly private) Accredited under School Education Law Clause 82 appended in 1975

Two or three-year 'vocational' schools (senmon gakko) for high school graduates fall in this category. English teachers are primarily employed in business, computer

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

and English senmon gakko. School Foundations (Gakko Hojin) or individuals who receive grants from prefectural governors hold the right to establish these types of schools. The budget comes mostly from the tuition and fees the students pay. These schools are also given many tax advantages to reduce overall cost operation.

Since subsidies are minimal and government involvement is correspondingly lowered, most of the pertinent laws effecting disputes will probably be handled by the Ministry of Labor which administers Labor Standards Laws. The Ministry of Education and Prefectural Offices' Private School Advisory stipulates conditions that control the facilities, the curriculum, classrooms, teachers' qualifications and quorum, lesson credits and other matters. However, libraries, provisions for teachers' research and school grounds are only recommended (The regulating laws were written by a group administrators for these schools who placed a higher priority on cost effectiveness than educational prerogatives.). Because subsidies are minimal and accountability for educational quality has been undermined by inadequate regulations, the schools' work environment falls short of career teachers' expectations and the schools have failed to obtain advanced accreditation and more subsidies.

When better working conditions and educational standards are established, they are usually the products of the teachers' efforts, competition among schools, and only occasionally the administrators' efforts. Most of the stable schools have unions, competent administrators who give educational prerogatives to the teachers, and very low turn-over in the faculty. While most of the parties involved assert that improvements are their goals, their aims and motives are often clearly in conflict. The Ministry of Education wants ambiguous goals they refer to collectively as "life long education", the school administrations want advanced accreditation to attract more students and increase revenue, and the teachers want professional standards, respect, stability and better financial benefits.

Type Four: Private Companies with In-house Programmes and English Conversation Schools

Enterprises that fall into this category are just like other business firms. In the case of the Eikaiwa Gakko (English conversation schools), "education" might be their primary business purpose. Their official documents list a president, a vice-president and other executives, even though they may be referred to as 'deans', 'principals' or 'education directors' at the business place. Most of the evening English schools and the schools that provide visiting conversation teachers to commercial clients fall into this

category - they have no academic credentials or standing in spite of the fact that many have business arrangements with academic institutions overseas.

The conversation school enterprises are established as business ventures. Fees from clients at the conversation schools are their sole source of income unless the company is being supported by another commerial, religious, or political entity which may heavily subsidize the 'school'. These entities may, conversely, use the 'school' as a source of funding. On the other hand, noncommercial in-house programmes are established as auxilliary services to accomodate a growing need for communication in the international marketplace. Funding for these programmes are from normal budgetary allotments for in-service training. The Ministry of Education has absolutely no legislated involvement in conversation schools or in-house programmes.

Teachers in conversation schools are often recruited overseas and paid the Ministry of Justice's minimum of 250,000 yen/monthly (The Ministry of Justice has on at least one occasion allowed the monthly rate to be averaged out over the period of a year rather than a strict adherence to a minimum of 250,000 yen per month for people with "working" visas.[2]). Often Companies have a rigid hierarchy and authoritarian systems which rob the teachers of any significant input into educational methodology. The emphasis on profit is paramount in the conversation schools which severly undermines educational prerogatives. However, The better working environments in larger companies with in-house programmes contrast significantly with those of conversation schools. As a consequence, these large companies are often considered desirable employment with good remuneration.

Contracts rarely explain legal details of the teachers' options and rights, they concentrate on the employers' asserted rights and often incorporate numerous clauses that constitute legal violations.[3] The employees usually have no idea about their rights or the obligations of the employer. Without any enforcing laws that establish standards of quality and accountability to publicly stated objectives used in recruiting students and teachers, educational reform is extremely difficult to achieve. Even if there is potential for increased revenue from changes to improve quality, the rigid hierarchies make them virtually impossible to effect. Conflicts are usually centered around wages, working conditions and abusive (illegal and arbitrary) dismissals. Employees must apply to outside agencies for any relief.

Foreign University Branch Campuses (Type Four-2):

The majority of overseas programmes in Japan are merely business ventures with

no formal academic standing in Japan although some schools may be an exception to this, because local governments are heavily involved in their establishment. Legally, all of these schools are the same as enterprises under Type Four and may only differ in the manner they are administered. Benefits to students are conferred by foreign authorities and have no standing under Japanese laws. They are established by overseas institutions and business ventures in Japan. Tuition and investment capital are usually their sole source of budget. Controlling laws and public offices are the same as other Type Four institutions.

Legal, administrative, and cultural aspects can be complicated by the institutions' foreign administrators who must commute from overseas, making numerous trips to take part in negotiations. Moreover, the domestic administration's business interests may form another arena of conflict. With this kind of structure in place, attorneys and unions representing employees in labour disputes must demand that the academic and business organisations involved in the enterprise settle the matter; the employees are not responsible for resolving the question of acountability.

2. The Difficulty in Establishing Statistical Parameters

Establishing any signficant statistics for language teachers in Japan to flesh out the preceding organizational perspective is difficult given the reticence of the teachers and the public and private institutions. One report of an attempt to update some old statistics illustrates a typical barrier that bureaucracies impose on attempts to establish statistical parameters in education. The data sought delineated the comparative ratio of part-time teachers to full-time teachers in the Japanese and non-Japanese teaching populations. Initially the information was reported in *The Japan Times*.[4] The Ministry of Education, which has access to the information, was not forthcoming in updating the report. Attempts by the authors to secure similar data are met with ambiguous answers and no results. There is arguably, in this case, a conflict of interest within the Ministry of Education which may explain their reluctance to help clarify apparent discrepancies, since the Ministry enforces a policy of discrimination at National Universities by maintaining that the permanent instructors/professors are public officials and thus can be non-Japanese only under unusual circumstances; they are unwilling to discuss the contradiction this practice presents in light of accepted legal precepts[5,6,7].

1 Media Sources

The news media also has a very difficult time producing consistent facts and

figures. In 1992, ***the Nikkei Weekly*** reported that there are 12,000 English conversation schools in metropolitan Tokyo[8] and ***the Yomiuri Daily*** has estimated that there are about 8,000 English conversation schools in all of Japan.[9] ***The Japan Times Weekly*** stated in 1990 that there were as many as 9,000 in the entire country.[10] Whether the subject is university faculty statistics or gross figures on registered businesses, realistic, consistent, up-to-date statistics are difficult to come by through media and bureaucratic sources.

(2) Teachers' Reticence

The teachers themselves are very reluctant to come forward in public with anything concrete.[11] The mere attempts to get teachers to participate in professional surveys, for example, have met with disinterest or suspicion, an indication of the reserved nature of those who actually teach in Japan. JACET's survey in 1983[12] received 1,012 responses out of a sample population of 2,910 full-time English professors at universities in Japan. While this may fulfill statistical requirements, this says, in effect, that only 35% of those asked made the effort to answer the survey.

JACET, which is closely associated with the Ministry of Education, is notably very conservative in its views. This is reflected by the fact that the survey consiste questions which addressed academic matters only and not the teachers' working env ment directly. In spite of the absence of controversial issues, there was a fairly low re sponse rate - a response rate that may satisfy statisticians, but leaves one wondering why such a non-controversial survey would not get a very high percentage of cooperation. This response rate closely resembled the survey published in 1988[13] with 45.6% of the senior high school English teachers, 34.4% of the junior high school English teachers and 21.7% of primary school English teachers taking the time to respond.[14]

In numerous presentations, the authors have solicited information regarding the legal parameters and working conditions under which teachers work. These attempts have been among predominantly non-Japanese language teachers. The most consistent reactions have been either suspicion or apathy and the response rate has been low, 10-12%. The results, considering the noncontroversial nature of the JACET surveys and the controversial nature of the informal working condition surveys by the authors, led us to the conclusion that teachers are very reticent regardless of the issues, casting the pale of doubt over any reportedly accurate survey presented by any agency.

Ⅲ. GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND PRACTICES

1. Little Change has Taken Place over the Years

There is little evidence that the government and the administrators in the institutions regulated by the Ministry of Education have demonstrable programmes for continued improvement with attendant measures to evaluate progress and implement constructive change. This has been the situation until recently following the Rinkyoshin's (Extraordinary Education Assessment Committee) report to the Prime Minister which advised that universities and colleges in Japan should adopt a more strict self-evaluation system. The Rinkyoshin's report notwithstanding, the situation does not seem to have changed for nearly a century. Nagai Michio's work in 1971, ***Higher Education in Japan: Its Take off and Crash***, established 19th century policies as the roots of problems seen when his book was published. His assertions 22 years ago still describe the problems we see today.

According to Nagai, government control over education was firmly instituted in 1889, reinforcing the supremacy of the central governments' will and priorities and the suppression of criticism.[15] From that point, "education and culture became politicized systems."[16] The model of academic inquiry became and would continue to be imitation, not creativity.[17] The teacher is still reduced to a common labourer whose duty is to instruct children[18] in a system that focuses on a bureaucratic agenda that serves the policy makers' political priorities.[19] To perpetuate this control, a number of measures are maintained to support political policies (Policies that seem to have racist/nationalist focus. As stated earlier, a full professor at a national university is automatically a civil servant who must be ethnic Japanese in line with the mentality of the old Imperial priorities.[20]) This system has de-emphasized the development of leadership in academia and effectively discourages creativity in education today as it did during the latter part of the 19th century and has continued to do so since. It prevents the students from having a chance to participate in the process of learning as the teachers are expected to perform the roles dictated down to them.[21]

This long established policy of serving the bureaucratic agenda has created a vicious cycle that continues to make real change difficult; this policy forms the basis of "education" because of the inertia of a multitude of forces which are primarily political in nature. The universities have failed to keep pace with rapid social changes and they are not expected to be centers for the creation of new ideas.[22] According to Nagai, the entranched 19th century policies have made it impossible for Japan to grasp the task of

restructuring education, because there are no long range ideas and indeed there is no demonstrable desire for such ideas.[23]

The Government's priorities are also reflected in fiscal policies which have a major impact on education. The universities' history of inadequate funding has hamstrung many real advances since the early part of this century.[24] In 1971, Nagai observed that "In higher education the ratio of educational investment to per capita income is only one half that of most advanced nations, consequently publicly supported universities are poorly financed".[25] The financial limitations that government and society placed on education may have strong historical precedents, but the last few years should have turned that around if, in fact, the limitations were merely financial. The so-called "Bubble Economy" has not evinced any concerted attempts to establish a firm foundation for education in Japan. This fact debases any purported fiscal limitations claimed for the future as the current economic downturn becomes a prevalent rationale propounded by administrators to explain budgetary limitations on faculty appointments for tenured positions. This excuse is already being used to bring pressure to bear as is shown in planned major cutbacks in elementary and junior high schools.[26]

Concurrently, the ramifications for the private foreign language school industry are patently clear: education is not a demonstrable priority. It is arguably nothing more than the acquisition of wealth for the few who have used an irresponsible system to promote their own financial gain. With the lack of regard given the government's responsibility in public and private education, it is hardly a surprise that the business sector's enterprises are of no real concern to regional or national government agencies. The failure of the various ministries to impose any measure of accountability will continue to have an adverse effect on a great many people as the past mistakes are repeated and compounded.

2. The JET Programme and Current Government Policy

The communicative emphasis in foreign language teaching has ostensibly received support from the Ministry of Education, but it is controversial whether this support is a sincere attempt at long term constructive change in language education. One programme the government has initiated is the Japan Exchange Teaching (JET) Programme which utilizes native speakers referred to as ALTs - Assistant Language Teachers - to work with the classroom teachers in team teaching. There are a number of claims of success, but the programme design raises some questions about its efficacy and long term effects. The programme primarily utilizes native English speakers (AETs) who are predomi-

nantly untrained as teachers to speakers of other languages. The pay is adequate and the completion of the first year contracts was running well above 95% when the authors spoke to JET officials earlier in 1991, but the JET Programme does not seem to cultivate long term goals as we shall see below through Wada Minoru's interview with Antony Cominos which was reported in the Japan Association of Language Teachers' newsletter, ***The Language Teacher*** (1992).[27]

Nagai's contention that the government has established a political agenda, which places the educational needs of Japanese society and the pursuit of human rights in Japan in subordination to ministerial goals, can be demonstrated through this interview. The interview in the ***The Language Teacher*** serves to point out some of the discrepancies and contradictions in current ministerial policy with regard to educational prerogatives and legal precepts in Japan. Wada Minoru, one of the principal designers of the JET Programme, was the Senior Foreign Language Curriculum Specialist at the Ministry of Education until March, 1992. His responsibilities included programme content and its relationship to the language curricula which were used in middle schools and secondary schools.

The JET Programme was established in 1987 as part of the strategy of the Monbusho (Ministry of Education) to promote a communicative focus in foreign languages. This is primarily a reaction to the publicly recognized lack of success that language education has had in Japan – Japanese students study for 6 to 10 years and frequently achieve no significant fluency.

The overall knowledge about the programme as offered by Wada is sparse. There are, for example, various teaching catagories for the Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs or AETs): base, regular and one shot. Base school teachers remain at one facility and the regular teachers have an established routine of schools they visit. The one shot Assistant English/Language Teachers are used to visit a school once and then they do not return to that school. Wada is unable to give concrete statistics about the ratios of the various categories of AETs/ALTs. Wada further states that the Japanese Teachers of English (JTEs) who work with the AETs/ALTs, have shown an increased propensity for the use of English in communication as a result of the JET Programme – a constructive development, although he is not forthcoming with supportive statistics to show that this aspect of the governments' objectives are demonstrably being met. He confesses that the legal aspects of independent teachers (AETs/ALTs are not allowed to teach without supervision of the JETs.) are complex legal issues that have yet to be worked out and that the research into the concept of team teaching is in

adequate, a problem he acknowledges existed at the inauguration of the programme. In essence, the questions of competency and priorities are unanswered.

Wada's opinion of Japanese teachers of English (those that are involved in the JET programme) is that they are not abreast of modern trends:

> "...professionals [ALTs who are qualified teachers] have more difficulty working within the restrictions of the system which is currently in place, precisely because of the professional knowledge which they possess. JTEs are not so well aware of modern trends in foreign language education.

But Wada asserts professional training is not as important as personality, because:

> "...there is a tendency for professionals to become angry and to criticize. JTEs. I have heard of many cases where ALTs with professional knowledge have found it difficult to enjoy good human relationships." "Teachers' Consultants who are responsible for the JET Programme at the prefectural level have indicated very strongly to me that flexibility is an essential component in the make-up of an effective ALT.

Wada unfortunately leaves the reader with the impression that criticism is unwelcome, professionalism is of secondary importance, and if the Teachers' Consultants conform to Wada's criteria, they are people who are unqualified as educators who advocate the use of others whose primary qualification is that they have a personality which enables them to "enjoy good human relationships with JTEs" rather than qualified professionals who can teach.

Additionally, Wada describes professionals as people who are, by inference, inflexible as well as prone to become angry; professionalism equals inflexibility and anger. By labeling the professional teachers as angry critics, does Wada hope to persuade readers that professional teachers who criticize can not expect to function in language education in Japanese classrooms?

What exactly are the parameters - the criteria - acceptable to the governments' JET Programme? The JET training meetings involve the exclusive attendance of people in the JET Programme. The ALTs congregate at these meetings and compare notes and attempt to establish a network of team teachers in the JET scheme. The use of outside professionals at most of these meetings is not financially supported by the Ministry of Education (Monbusho), the Ministry of Home Affairs (Jichisho) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Gaimusho) which sponsor the JET Programme. The JET criteria evidently has not embraced the use of any constructive professional feedback in spite of

the lack of research that still exists in the government's programme - a point that seems to explain their overall attitude toward mending the gaps in programme design.

This lack of professional guidance has met with dissatisfaction among participants in the JET Programme. Since 1990, the authors have discussed the situation with participants (ALTs/AETs) who contend that they operate without the benefit of input from professional educators. According to some of the ALTs/AETs in the Kanto area, they would welcome the advice of experienced teachers. Wada addresses this issue:

> "I hoped to invite speakers to our meetings who not only possess advanced knowledge of the teaching methodologies but who also possess a keen understanding of the particular conditions confronting ALTs and JTEs in Japanese schools. Of course there are many language teaching experts in Japan. Many ALTs ask me why the ministry does not invite foreign experts to the training meetings. Honestly speaking, I was hesitant, because from my observations very few foreign experts have a research interest in foreign language education in Japanese schools, particularly in public schools."

Wada does not define what he means by "research interest", but it is not unreasonable to say that long term, on-site observation and analysis is effectively discouraged by the Ministry of Education's limitations on term of employment for non-Japanese teachers. If this interest is important for the future involvement of any foreign experts, then there will have to be some changes in policy that originate with the Ministry of Education. Wada does, however, offer the following to delineate the "keen understanding" that an expert must possess:

> "Take for example the issue of authorized textbooks. If we invite an outside speaker, especially a foreign speaker, we hope that the person will be knowledgeable enough to advise ALTs and JTEs how to make the best use of the resources available to them, no matter how poor the speaker may consider them to be.

The "keen understanding" that Wada is proposing is a keen understanding of bureaucratic guidelines that many Japanese teachers consider to be an unethical government imposition. These guidelines are not necessarily endorsed by any educational philosophy inherent in the varied Japanese communities in which the teachers work.

To illustrate this conflict between government guidelines and educators' opinions, the following situation may give a better understanding of the environment that exists here in Japan. In the late 60's and early 70's, teachers at many junior high schools in the Kyosai area in Yamanashi did not use the prescribed texts mandated by the Ministry of Education. The teachers developed their own materials to use in the classrooms.

While this situation was considered unusually innovative, it was true then and is true now that many teachers throughout Japan supplement the prescribed texts to the extent that the local government allows. Eventually, however, the use of teachers' materials were severely curtailed. The teachers at Kushigata Junior High School in the Kyosai area claimed that the Ministry of Education brought pressure to bear upon the Yamanashi Prefecture's Board of Education and the pressure eventually descended upon the teachers. In a public school the ministry can force teachers to transfer to other schools if they do not comply with federal guidelines. The pressure has financial, physical and psychological impact that only the most staunch teacher can withstand. In the end, "all the good stuff", as one teacher put it, was removed from the Kushigata curriculum and the bureaucratic agenda was adhered to at the expense of educational prerogatives and creativity. This then is an example of the thing that Wada and the ministries involved insist must be "keenly" understood.

There are nearly 3,000 AETs/ALTs serving with 60,000 Japanese Teachers of English (JTEs) and a conservative 6,000,000 students (if one allows 100 students per JTE) at about 2,000 students per AET/ALT. The AETs/ALTs, according to Wada's criteria, must not become angry with the situation, they cannot criticize what they see, they can stay only for a maximum of three years, they must operate without benefit of professional training or advice and though they will be paid (for a short time) at a somewhat higher rate than most Japanese teachers make - considering age, experience and education qualifications - they are temporary and unqualified. They are a disposable pool of foreign labour whose presence can be an enormous frustration to permanent teachers. They and the programme they are in disputably bear little resemblance to any long lasting constructive attempt at educational reform.

Wada voices regret that "…it would simply be impossible to find sufficient numbers of professionals to meet the demand for ALTs.", if the Ministry of Education were to adopt a policy of hiring trained teachers. But Wada has already stated that ALTs have no professional autonomy, they are limited to three years of employment and his "…dream is that JTEs should be capable of doing everything alone." sometime in the future. Thus the JET Programme is a short-term scheme which serves merely as in-service training for Japanese teachers. This then is the government programme: no recognized professional status, no stable long-term employment, and in a sense a racially biased goal of exclusively Japanese classroom teachers - it is unlikely that this policy will get a whole-hearted support from the international community, nor is it likely to get a great many qualified applicants with long term career goals in mind (and such appli-

cants obviously are not wanted).

There is no question that there aren't enough of the AETs/ALTs to be of any consequence - they are arguably nothing more than a part of the "internationalization" fad that serves to de-emphasize quality education and maintain the control over education that Nagai has pointed out as the focus of governmental policy of more than one hundred years.

Although there may be concerned and qualified AETs who truly blend in with JLTs and serve to reinforce communicative aspects of language education in Japanese schools, many of those who are career language teachers leave for further professional development in their home countries or move to post-secondary institutions in Japan.

3. Tokyo Metropolitan Native Speakers of English Programme (NSEs)

Tokyo Metropolitan government has a programme of its own. Native English Speakers (NSEs) are hired to come into the classroom for one hour a week in the first year classes. According to some of the regular teachers, the NSEs are untrained and often obtrusive. They are largely uncommitted to education and regard the position as little more than a part-time job. With this scheme, the Tokyo government arguably has not constructively addressed the need to build an enduring core of professional teachers that will work in concert to establish an answer to any long term goals of language teaching reform in metropolitan schools. On the contrary, they have instituted a programme that places uncommitted, untrained people in the classroom with committed career teachers.

This programme has been in place since 1988. It employs people in Japan, unlike the JET programme which hires people overseas. Many of the NSEs are dependents of people who have jobs in Japan, while the AETs/ALTs in the JET programme are people with working visas in a larger more cohesive organization. Qualifications for NSEs are minimal and as part-time employees with no career objectives or professional priorities, they have no manifestly vested interest in any of the issues that face career teachers in Japan, nor any committment to education or the educational needs of the students.

The friction this produces with the full-time faculty is obvious to the students, and the NSEs' lack of commitment to the students is also equally apparent. This programme evidently alienates the participants as a result. Inoue Junko is a teacher at Kodaira High School who has reported her observations on the NSEs' role and their effect on the classroom.[28] It is her opinion that the students actually react in a manner which is the opposite of the desired effect: instead of being motivated to communicate

with non-Japanese, they "… avoid speaking with NSEs and exhibit even greater ethnocentric traits than before."

Inoue's report emphasized the need for qualified teachers to work together in a team, to establish cross-cultural communication for the benefit of the students and the teachers. But Inoue's report is telling in that it recounts another example of a governmental attempt to impose control without regard for the educational needs of the students, and to downplay the expertise of the professional teachers already in the classroom. There is no apparent consensus in Inoue's situation or that of many of the JTEs who are forced into a situation that requires them to work with untrained and uncommitted temporary people that form a disposable pool of labour serving a political agenda. education is not a constructively addressed priority.

Ⅳ. THE CLASSROOM ENVIRONMENT AND MANAGEMENT STYLES

1. Defining the Working Environment

Perhaps the only appropriate conclusion at this time is that the field of foreign language instruction in Japan is an uncharted wilderness in spite of the fact that there are a good number of concerned teachers and organizations struggling to upgrade its quality. Personal experiences and reported studies leave no clear cut evidence that any studies can be presented as authoritative. At this stage in evaluating the working conditions of teachers of foreign language and the standards of education (teaching and learning), the best approach is to attempt a definition of the environments teachers of foreign language find themselves in and give comparisons of the various situations in the hope that others will attempt to assist in clarifying the picture.

2. Evaluating the Outcome

It's no secret that there is a great deal of dissatisfaction with the results of language teaching in Japan - it is a subject constantly debated and discussed in the media and at educational conferences. But while there seems to be no shortage of people who are willing to work as English instructors, there is little in the way of establishing whether effective teaching is actually being accomplished.

In Japan University and vocational school graduates are hired by commercial and public organisations, merely because they successfully graduated. Companies give entrance exams, but those exams and their credibility and integrity are not the subject of open, professional analysis and discussion - there aren't any attempts to actually analy-

ze the tests' efficacy; the tests' ability to predict success are not made public, nor is there any evidance offered that the tests are meant to do so. This situation exists because companies do not expect colleges and universities to train their prospective employees in their professional field. They even go as far as to claim that the universities should not burn out the students with study because the companies will give extensive on-the-job training later.

The question thus becomes apparent: what do the schools offer? In spite of the claims by each institution that they provide the students with practical knowledge and skills, internationally-minded ways of thinking, or enough wide general knowledge to function in society, they seem to be providing no more than the name value of the school which helps the students get a better job in the job market. Recommendations and favours have a very strong currency value here in Japan and the "old boy" system is solidly ensconced in the business community. It is the system of referral that will make the difference - the connections in the community are the commonly acknowledged benefits of graduating from a particular school.[29,30] The national universities of Tokyo University and Kyoto University exemplify this by winning in excess of 50% of the career enhancing government positions on a yearly basis. It was reported that when interviewers at government organizations were given no information on their interviewees' school names in 1992, more non-Tokyo University graduates were employed than ever before. (However, the authors are very much aware of the fact that starting in 1991, a number of post-secondary instituions are keenly searching for the ways to evaluate themselves in a visible fashion and some schools seem to have been very successful.)

3. Teaching the Uncommitted

The majority of the student population have no firmly established educational priorities. Upon entry into the post-secondary education system, most students proceed to plan their holidays, get part-time jobs for spending-money, start dating (in many cases, for the first time), join social and sporting clubs and make the important contacts that they hope will get them into a decent job after the four-year vacation is over. The lectures and the libraries are not priorities. Whatever happens, the students know they will probably graduate.[31]

This scene: the social clubs, the part-time jobs, the predominantly social orientation on which the students are focused, is re-enacted yearly at universities, colleges, junior colleges and vocational technical schools. Academically serious students are in the minority unless the school policies impose a certain level of academic work. This is

a major problem that confronts career language teachers in post-secondary education - a lack of commitment from the students in a system that does not require it of them.[32]

With this environment as the stage, where is the evidence to support any assertion that any significant language learning is actually taking place? Individual teachers know if they are getting results or not (provided they are not overworked part-timers who don't have a moment to spare to actually evaluate their students). The anecdotal assertions claiming success are numerous - but the frustration with the obstacles to actually implementing effective teaching in the classrooms is overwhelming. Teachers who work in company classes are frequently told by their students (predominantly post-secondary school graduates) that they (the students) have been studying English for 10 or more years, but they cannot speak it.[33] Most of the employees will readily admit to studying English all the way from junior high school to their last year of post-secondary school or beyond.

After most instructors have heard these testimonies for months or years from students in post-secondary schools and company classes, it begins to dawn on the teachers that in spite of the students' awareness of their inadequacies and their stated desire to become proficient in speaking English, they rarely become proficient as the months and years grind on. A little closer observation will show most teachers that a significant proportion of the college graduates in company classes have the same inadequate study habits they observe in the post-secondary student population. Informal surveys at company classes by many teachers show that there is little or no attempt or opportunity to use English outside of the class.[34]

This lack of commitment that remains with the students throughout adulthood and is so entrenched in the post-secondary school systems did not develop without help nor does it remain in place without reinforcement. The foundations of this problem were laid before the students entered post-secondary school education.[35] The students, teachers and administrators conceivably have brought the problem with them from secondary school and middle school where their own language instruction began.

The fatalistic environment of denial that provides the setting for avoiding accountability may be blamed for a multitude of shortcomings. Furthermore, the events that initiate and maintain denial on such a massive scale may be spread over a period of years, but one thing seems clear: the habit of denial has tremendous inertia. Attempting (to name two examples) to change the attitude that Japanese can not ever really learn another language or getting students to accept that study is the price a student must pay for the reward of language learning is a struggle against social, political and

economic forces.

4. Managing "Straw People": Stuffing Human Beings into Convenient Boxes

Barriers exist in the environment before educators and novice instructors even get a chance to start teaching and working through the problems that come with the job. Commonly, school and business administrators, with some exceptions, fix in their minds a specific image of what a teacher is; they conceive a stereotypic "straw person" and proceed to treat the teachers according to the straw persona the administration believes them to be - the persona is like a "box" in which an entire human being is placed. The sides of the box define the parameters of their personality, competence and dignity. These "boxes" have social, gender, age and racial/cultural walls. One fairly common "box" is the "Gypsy Box".

One of the most prevalent stereotypes non-Japanese teachers are stuck with is the "Gypsy". Although it is unlikely that most schools employ members of nomadic Romanian tribes, the sobriquet does have currency value among those administrators with a predilection for stereotypes. Foreign teachers, as the stereotype goes, are Gypsies (at least in the minds and thus the policies of public and private administrators,) because they (the teachers) come to Japan for a short time, move around from place to place and are only interested in money. In what can be legitimately described as a self-fulfilling prophecy, expatriate teachers do in fact stay for short periods of time and are primarily interested in money, because the environment imposed by the administrations are often so hostile and the financial and career future so bleak, most expatriates would be ill-advised to remain long.[10] It is, however, the opinion of the authors that teachers who are committed to a career in education move around until they find a suitable place to pursue their academic aspirations; they are driven until they can find a stable teaching environment. This became evident to the authors when they conducted a survey of teachers in the Kanto area (encompassing the Tokyo, Kawasaki and Yokohama metroplex) which showed a turnover rate of approximately 45% at institutions they left. The turnover rate reported at their final position was about 21% which indicates that they had found gainful employment in stable working conditions.

Growing numbers of teachers are becoming aware of the discrepancies between the law as it is written and policy as it is practised. A significant number of upper echelon universities can be included among those who routinely impose severe limitations on the duration of employment and career opportunities of expatriates mostly on the basis of national or racial parameters. As of June 1989, there were approximately

9,000 English language teachers in universities in Japan including private (shiritsu), public (koritsu) and national (kokuritsu) institutions. Of these, approximately 1200 are expatriates. At the 150 national universities and colleges, there were 145 full-time expatriate teachers/professors[37] of which none are recognized as full professors by the Ministry of Education.

The use of part time teachers to cut expenditures is a common practice both in Japan and abroad. Part-time teachers do not usually get unemployment insurance, health insurance, retirement insurance, research funds, travel funds or any of the number of social and professional benefits that permanent employees have here in Japan. By 1969, part-timers composed 45% of the faculties at private universities and this practise has dogged educators since the early part of the 20th century.[38]

The practice of padding the faculty roll with less expensive part-time instructors is not unique to Japan. The Graduate Employees and Students Organization (GESO), comprising 1,250 of Yale University's 2,000 graduate students have formed to secure the right to collective bargaining over wages and benefits and grievance procedures. The Yale administration's insistence on "flexbility" has created the biggest issue in the dispute. At the heart of this ability to manipulate the benefits that teachers receive is a growing pool of temporary workers who get lower pay and no benefits.[39]

The total number of non-Japanese teachers of English in Japan has grown in the last ten years. In 1981 there were approximately 450 non-Japanese teachers at private, public and national universities combined. At that time, the listed number of the total English language faculty was 7,000.[40] A comparison of the populations would give the impression that the job market has improved for English language teachers in general and non-Japanese in particular. But a closer comparison reveals that since 1981 there has been a significemtly higher turnover in the non-Japanese teaching population as compared to the Japanese population. Less than 40% of the non-Japanese teaching population are at the institutions they were registered with in 1981 as compared to nearly 70% of the Japanese teaching population; 4 out of 10 non-Japanese teachers have remained at their institutions compared to 7 out of 10 of the Japanese teachers. The investigation into the working conditions in the Kanto area performed by the authors in 1989 and 1990 is consistent with this information.[41] The authors discovered a rate of turnover in non-Japanese staff of up to 52.05% in universities, companies with their own in-house language programme, Jr. colleges, post-secondary vocational schools and English conversation schools. This high rate of turnover indicates an extremely unstable working environment and needs a closer look for the underlying causes.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

5. Impotency of the Non-Japanese Classroom Teacher

The average classroom language teacher is better placed to understand the students' strengths and weaknesses than anyone else. When these people are committed to educating the students and are allowed to organize their own committees, communicate their situations with the attendant successes and failures, compare notes and manage the procedures of educating the students, they have a much richer repertoire of solutions to implement than people who are outside of the classroom environment.

Yet the role of classroom teachers as a fundamental resource for the implementation of quality education is a neglected or abused resource in most situations in Japan. They may be regimented, isolated and left to act alone or kept in a constant state of turmoil and subjected to a rapid turnover (predominantly the lot of expatriates, but not exclusively). Year-to-year contracts and the part-time position are the norm for non-Japanese. Among Japanese teachers at universities, the part-time to full-time ratio is 2:1 to 3:1 and among the expatriate faculty it is between 7:1 to 10:1.[42] At one university in Tokyo, the permanent to non-permanent ratio is 1:0.595 for Japanese faculty (including part-time associate professors) and 31:1 for expatriates.[43,44,45]

Contracts (which are often used to institute segregation) invariably are imposed by the administrations who claim that the Westerners require the contracts. The non-Japanese teachers conversely are told by the administrations when they are presented with a contract that the one-year contracts are required by the Ministry of Justice for the provision of a working visa. What in fact is required is proof of employment at a level of remuneration that will give the teachers the ability to support themselves in a comfortable lifestyle. Restrictions on duration of employment are not required by Civil or Labor Standards Laws. A contract may stipulate (a) the time necessary to complete a project, (b) a period of up to but not exceeding one year (if specified) or (c) for no definite period at all.[46] The provisional time limitation is imposed by the administrators of the institutions or the businesses that employ teachers. The contract laws and the Labor Standards Laws are in some case deliberately misrepresented for the sole reason of maintaining a financial advantage over the teachers at the expense of the educational environment. This is known and acknowledged by government officials.[47,48,49] As we mentioned before, Nagai gives the asserted financial limitations that institutions claim as the reasons for the use of the part-time teaching pool - a practice that arguably does not fulfill the stated rationale given for employing teachers at less than permanent status.

V. MANAGEMENT STYLES: ORIGINS AND RESPONSES TO CONFLICT IN THE WORKING ENVIRONMENT

1. Application of Deuctsch's Six Categories

Benign neglect, regimented control, or capricious interference are the most common, general types of management the authors have seen. The benign neglect is typical of the older schools and regimentation and capriciousness more so of the English conversation schools and the less well established institutions.[50] Morton Deutsch of Columbia University has elucidated 6 categories of conflict response which the authors have found correspond to the working environments and human relationships they have dealt with here in Japan.[51] The conflicts that arise in educational environments are often explained as cultural in essence, but the problems encountered are not actually culture specific. The problems are more constructively and thus more professionally dealt with within the arena of human inter-relational dynamics. The "cultural misunderstanding" rationale is dependant on the situation and the people who invoke it use it as an evasive denial of the real problems, so that it merely serves to shield the responsible parties involved from any real effort at constructive change. A clear example of this is the rationale offered by Wada in his *TLT* interview (Cominos, 1992) when he states that "…ALTs with professional knowledge have found it difficult to enjoy good human relationships with JTEs."

Deustch's six dimensions are categories described in clinical settings, but they are clearly relevant to the educational environment. Deustch states that being aware of one's predisposition would actually allow one the opportunity to modify inappropriate responses. We would add that the opportunity would, of course, be entirely dependent on the willingness to effect change.

The first response delineated by Deutsch is that of "conflict avoidance-conflict involvement".

> Conflict avoidance is expressed in denial, repression, suppression, and the continuing postponement of facing conflict. Sometimes it is evidenced by fleeing into an agreement before exploring conflicting interests and various options for avoiding a conflict. The tension associated with conflict avoidance is expressed in fatigue, irritability, muscular tension, and a sense of malaise. On the other side of the coin, excessive involvement in conflict is expressed in a "macho" attitude, a chip on one's shoulder, a tendency to seek out conflict to demonstrate that one is not afraid of conflict. It is also commonly manifested in obsessive thoughts about fights and disputes, with much rehearsing of moves and counter-moves between oneself and one's adversaries. A healthier predisposition is a readiness to confront

conflict when it arises without needing to seek it out or to be occupied with it.

Conflict avoidance is not exclusively the teachers' domain or the administrations' domain, but it is apparently more commmon for the teachers to exhibit avoidance and the lower administration levels that deal with teachers on a day-to-day basis to evince conflict involvement. In the conversation schools, people who initiate conflict are commonly encountered at mid-management levels. The frequent presence of such people has left the authors and third party negotiators looking for them in what has nearly become a reflexive expectation. The best working hypothesis seems to be that conflict initiators are deliberately hired to continually control and manipulate the instructors through the managements' day-to-day changes. The overwhelming incidence of schedule changes, pay cuts, reassignments and policy changes at conversation schools or vocational schools require a constant level of control that begets conflict the administration usually leaves to an intermediary. The administration is thus able to avoid the tremendous psychological and physical stress conflict induces in those who control the working environment for them.

Teachers and instructors on the other hand, usually show a marked proclivity for avoidance. This avoidance may in fact be the continued stimulus for the management style that prevails in the conversation schools and a significant number of the post-secondary vocational schools (senmon gakko). The employees don't return the 'fire' as it were, and the management is encouraged to push and manipulate employees who eventually react by leaving - not unusually, without warning. Unhealthy regard for the "…readiness to confront conflict when it arises…" in a professionally constructive attempt to deal with problems as they come up is the hallmark of many authoritarian administrations who consider anything less than obsequious assent to be an affront to their authority. Clauses like "The employee will respect Japanese traditions" or "The employee will not try to change the company operations" and "The employee will strive to understand Japanese culture" occur with alarming regularity in contracts teachers are required to sign. These clauses have no legal authority, but they serve to intimidate the teachers and instuctors. The agreements which teachers naively accept are often unreasonable in the extreme.[2]

Obsessive thoughts about fights and disputes are frequently seen in teachers who seek outside help without ever actually engaging in open conflict with the administration for whom they work. Often these teachers will sit in counseling sessions and go through repetitive assertions of their rights and the actions they feel must be done, but they may

never openly address the people with whom they are in conflict - the largest part of their frustration or anger is expressed to or directed at the unions and attorneys who offer the few constructive avenues of resolution Japanese laws provide. These people appear to be a hybrid of the avoidance-involvement response.

The predicament of people who try to avoid conflict often traps uninvolved parties in the working place when the teachers in conflict directly include other employees or inadvertently initiate the involvement of other employees. Such involvement of other teachers escalates the already existing instability generated by management's conflict initiators. Often these teachers who avoid open conflict "lead from behind" by getting others to fight their battles for them - they superficially avoid conflict, but they continually initiate it.

A second category that Deutsch proposes is the "hard-soft" response:

> Some people take an aggressive, unyielding response to conflict, fearing that otherwise they will be taken advantage of. Others fear they will be considered to be hostile or presumptuous and, as a consequence, are excessively gentle and unassertive. They often expect the other to "read their minds." A more appropriate stance is a firm support of one's own interests combined with a ready responsiveness to the interests of the other.

These characteristics may or may not apply to those who avoid conflict or become excessively involved. Often people who appear to be excessive in their conflict involvement will at the onset of conflict immediately assume a very unyielding and defensive position which makes any attempt at discussion and resolution a distant possibility. This may in fact be an "aggressive avoidance" response - by immediately taking offense at the slightest criticism and refusing to engage in meaningful dialogue the person avoids the conflict, but postpones the resolution while continuing to actually give the appearance of someone who is involved in conflict. This type of response is very common and it is very effective in retaining employment if it is not used excessively in the management-employee relationship. These people rarely assume an active, constructive part in organized reform because their priorites are extremely egocentric and infrequently include commitment to progressive change in the environment or the profession. When they do seek outside assistance in a conflict, they are rarely initiators of the contact and are introduced by others. If they do initiate contact they prove to be very reluctant in performing the tasks necessary to make their defense possible and insist that the outside agency do all the work involved in the case.

The soft response is not often seen by external agencies - people who respond

softly rarely seek outside help. When they do it is primarily for reassurance and comfort. When they have had a chance to share their misfortune and their frustration, they have basically received all they really need emotionally and are content to let it go at that. They are not capable of prolonged conflict and will usually leave the situation quietly. They do not seem to harbor grudges and may in fact be very healthy, because they avoid conflict and seem to terminate their stress very easily. It is unfortunate that they usually leave, because they are often gifted teachers. Administrations rarely appreciate these people and will eventually drive them away.

Deutsch's "rigid-loose" response category is particularly appropriate for the management style commonly seen within authoritarian business communities.

> Some people immediately seek to organize and control the situation by setting the agenda. As a consequence of feeling threatened by the unexpected, they push for rigid arrangements and rules and get upset by even minor deviations. At the other extreme are people who are aversive to anything formal or constricting. They like a loose improvisational arrangement in which rules and procedures are implicit rather than overt. An approach that allows for both orderliness and flexibility in dealing with the conflict is more constructive than one that is either compulsive in its organizing or in its rejection of orderliness.

Often disputes are initiated or precipitated by people who seek control for its own sake. They are people who engage in conflict or hire others to do it for them, but they seem to be constantly initiating conflict. Unreasoning and compulsively aggressive administrations and administrators who refuse to acknowledge the higher good of cooperation and the more profitable course of action simply see cooperation as a threat to their authority; the authority seems to define their identity.

These employers or managers may be overtly brutal to their employees or they may be quietly manipulative. In either case, they are wholly preoccupied in securing and maintaining control of the people around them and will spend most of their time in the pursuit of control – not in the pursuit of profit. Because of their predilection for control rather than profit, they often baffle third party negotiators with obstinate machinations and outright refusal to reasonably negotiate. They may drive subordinates to acquire profit for them and actually succeed in a very superficial way in business, but their enterprise is in fact a house of cards and relies more often than not on the forceful control of others and what has been, up till now, an uncompetitive market (a situation that is rapidly changing).

It is this "compulsive controller" personality of which management in the English language instruction industry seems to be predominantly composed. Because of the ex-

treme nature of these personalities, it is difficult to get people in society at large to take the matter seriously - they just don't believe that such personalities occur with such high frequency. These compulsive controllers collectively command a tremendous amount of capitol (tens of billions of dollars annually) and significantly influence the way many Japanese view themselves and the world they live in. Additionally, they have an adverse influence on many non-Japanese who work and live in Japan.

The "intellectual-emotional" response Deutsch articulates is remarkable in teachers and upper-level administrators respectively.

> At one extreme, no relevant emotion is felt or expressed as one communicates one's thoughts. Frequently, beneath the calm detached surface is the fear that if one feels or expresses one's emotions, one will do something destructive or humiliating. However the lack of appropriate emotional expressiveness may convey to the other a lack of commitment to one's interests and a lack of a genuine concern for the other's interests. At the other extreme are people who believe that only feelings are real and that words and ideas are not to be taken seriously unless they are thoroughly soaked in emotion. The emotional intensity of such people impairs the ability to actually explore ideas and to develop creative solutions; it also makes it difficult to distinguish the significant from the insignificant, even if the trivial is accompanied with intense emotion. The ideal mode of communication combines thought and affect; the thought is supported by the affect and the affect is explained by the thought.

The intellectual approach is apparently the manifestation of many teachers' personal idealized concept of professional conduct; many teachers fear that it is unprofessional therefore demeaning to respond to conflict in any other way than with 'intellectual' detachment. This myth of professional aloofness usually forces a teacher into a no-win situation, because it functions as an integral part of a conflict avoidance response and it alienates others who may be allies in the conflict. The problems build and the lack of allies eventually forces a teacher out of the situation. It must be said that these people do not often become involved in conflict nor are they often targets for conflict initiators.

Upper level administrators have layers of managers that enable them to maintain the intellectual distance to which they feel their position entitles them. Their role in conflict is usually hidden and it is difficult to establish how much they are involved. They are notorious for their paternal or superior attitude which alienates them from professionals and endears them to employees who are accustomed to authoritarian environments.

The emotional response is not a viable option among non-Japanese teachers though it is more common among lower level management personnel who are merely transferred away from any trouble when conflict threatens to completely destabilize the working environment. Intense reactions will usually get a teacher dismissed early or they will not be offered a second contract. When they attempt to recruit a third party representative to their cause, they refuse any advise and do not work well with the third party and impose a lot of stress on anyone who tries to help them NOT uncommonly, outside agencies have learned to deal with emotional responders by avoiding them. Since they often do not comply with requests for documentation and they have alienated many co-workers, they have very little to support their case.

"Escalating-minimizing", the fifth category presented by Deutsch is applicable to the conflict seen in Japan. It may be stereotyped in its application, but that will in itself reveal something about the presuppositions of the observers and the participants and may facilitate a deeper understanding of the underlying causes.

> At one extreme, some people experience any given conflict in the largest possible terms. The issues are cast so that what is at stake involves one's self, one's family, ones ethnic group, and precedence for all time. Escalation of the conflict makes it more difficult to resolve except when the escalation proceeds so rapidly that its absurdity becomes self-apparent. At the other extreme are people who minimize their conflicts. Yet, by minimizing the seriousness of the differences between the self and the other, they can produce serious misunderstandings. They may not devote enough effort to resolving the conflict constructively.

Dealing with 'escalators' is much more simple than 'minimizers', because the escalators are easy to see - they stick out like a sore thumb - and the minimizers are by definition quiescent and do not become apparent until the problems are at a critical stage. Teachers who are conflict escalators do not get a great deal of support from the other faculty members[3] and management escalators are often allowed free rein until they become an embarrassment and get transferred to another location.[4],[5]

Deutsch's final conflict response category is the "compulsively revealing-compulsively concealing" response:

> At one extreme, some people feel compelled to reveal whatever they think and feel about the other, including their hostilities and fears, in the most blunt irrational manner. Or they may feel they have to communicate every doubt or weakness they have about themselves. At the other extreme are those who feel they cannot reveal any of their feelings or thoughts without seriously damaging the relationship to the other. Either extreme can im-

pair the development of a constructive relationship. One should be open and honest in communication but, appropriately so, taking into account the consequences of what one says or does not say.

The compulsive revealer spends a lot of time in repairing rifts in relationships with co-workers caused by inconsiderate remarks. If they have not got the ability or willingness to make amends, they simply alienate everyone and move to another job. They are particularly difficult to deal with in groups; their behavior may actually become the focus of the working environment - eventually, every person has to deal with them. An outside agency will find it nearly impossible to work with them, because they will reveal sensitive information without any care for consequences. They are best left in the dark and not allowed to be involved in any attempts at reform in the work place.

Compulsive concealers are not commonly evident. If they seek outside help for any working problems, their questions to the third party may be well thought out, but attempts at getting any concrete information from them are unrewarded. They usually ask a few questions and then do not pursue the matter. In administration they are very poor managers in day-to-day matters, for the simple reason that no one knows what is taking place until a problem becomes too big to ignore. As a result of their failure to keep employees up to date, they precipitate problems and their administration is a long series of rising and falling crises situations. Their administration is not as spectacular as the compulsive conflict involvement personality that initiates conflict, but eventually they will wear down a lot of the employees who become discouraged and leave or they withdraw from any active input. The employees eventually become clock watchers who are very reluctant to put in much beyond what the contract specifies.

2. Management Style Classification

The authors have adapted the categories Deutsch presents into a scheme that is applicable to administrations and individuals in the environment.

(1) Organisational Style

a) Rigid

over organized; compulsively controlled; agendas imposed; pushy and upset by minor deviations; personnel is categorized on the basis of their degree of acquiescence; noted for constant turmoil and steady turnover

b) Flexible

deals with each issue in an open manner; receptive to criticism; seeks tolerance

from the faculty and staff; has no regard for snide and sarcastic criticism; encourages analytic and articulate criticism that poses questions to be answered and does not abide one-upsmanship

c) Undefined

hands off; no guidelines; implict rules that leave one guessing about working and teaching parameters; no defined goals; no procedures for dealing with the unexpected; noted for long periods of calm between sudden crises resulting from unsolved problems that eventually come to a head

(2) Role in Conflict

a) Initiates Conflict

finds fault easily; never accepts blame; pushes issues till they get their way and further; preoccupied by confrontation; uses conflict to establish relationships and hierarchy in the establishment

b) Involved

deals with conflict as it arises; does not use it for establishing rules and procedures; seeks the largest number of relevant opinions prior to taking action

c) Avoids conflict

postpones needed decisions; gives ambiguous responses; refuses to listen to issues; places responsibility elsewhere

(3) Response to Conflict

a) Assertive

aggressive and unyielding; discourages dialogue; looks for someone on which to place blame; unable or unwilling to terminate a crises without leaving many problems that precipitate further conflict - each conflict lays the seeds for the next conflict; characterised by many acute episodes with short intervening periods of superficial calm

b) Reconciliatory

tries to get all involved parties to discuss the issues with a mediator present and attempts to find negotiable points do deal with; seeks to finish the conflict without leaving more problems to deal with later.

c) Unassertive

yielding and obsequious; has no defined position and is not interested in finding one; conflict reaches a chronic stage where it never seems to be resolved

(4) Perceptions of Conflict and Change in the Environment

a) Escalated

everything is blown out of proportion regardless of who is at fault or who is the victim; small problems are considered systemic

b) Realistic

looks for those who are actually involved and keeps irrelevant issues and uninvolved parties out of the conflict - contains the problem within the appropriate area.

c) Minimal

little or nothing is important; real issues are neglected until they become critical; day to day routine will give appearance that everything is under control until there is a crises; initiates the need for crises management

(5) Emotional Parameters

a) Emotional

places a low value on words or ideas; considers issues and solutions on their emotional content; impairs the ability of all concerned to deal with normal routine of work; exacts a high toll in expended energy on others

b) Communicative

spends time communicating before crises develope and thereby establishes the relationships necessary to resolve conflict as a trusted mediator or adminstrator

c) Detached

cold and unexpressive; attempts to convey an intellectual approach to the environment and relationships; may convey lack of trust or concern with the issues or the people involved

(6) Communication Style

a) Outspoken

compulsively reveals what they think and feel; displays little sensitivity to other's feelings or position; can be very blunt, hostile and irrational

b) Honest

takes into account the consequences of what they say; appropriate degrees of revealment and concealment

c) Concealed

secretive, may fear for their position or desire the absence of competition

VI. CONCLUSION

The problems non-Japanese people face in education at any level are rooted in the Japanese business and governmental communities' deep abiding regard for political, national/racial and commercial priorities that usually contradict or fail to accommodate educational prerogatives. We would argue that these priorities are deeply rooted in historical attitudes toward education, an argument that Nagai (1971) has substantiated. The problems can be articulated by educators in general and non-Japanese in particular, but until the Japanese communities begin to demand responsible administration as a whole and quality language education specifically, there is little hope for any real change in the near future. To this end, educators can take the issues to people who need to hear them and be encouraged to address these issues. Let those of us who are concerned with the substance and the form of education in generations to come continue to openly advocate and work for quality education and the obliteration of the obstacles that prevent education from its full and creative expression. It is essential that educators see the constructive and hopeful side of the task before them and empower educators to acquire the authority they need to build the environment necessary to educate - to construct and reinforce education rather than simply deplore the situation.

This paper deals with the cutting edge of social change in Japan. The educational environment is the place where most people are given access to options in adulthood or they are denied them. Education is the place where a significant number of the non-Japanese in Japan work on a day to day basis with Japanese. This paper addresses issues of extreme complexity, issues that have only just begun to get the attention they deserve. It is not possible to deal with the social, legal, and commercial aspects and a host of many other issues in one journal article, because the subjects and the issues addressed defy comprehensive analysis and summary. Notwithstanding the magnitude of the subject, the authors do hope this paper will serve as a cornerstone of further research on each of the issues they have delineated here.

Notes

1 This synopsis of the infrastructure of language institutions and businesses was first presented by Noda Kentaro at the 1991 JALT National Conference in Kobe Japan at the round table "Conflict Resolution in School" moderated by Thomas Simmons with Noda Kentaro and Paul Arensen.

2 The teachers' union at International English Services (IES) presented their case to the Ministry of Justice in 1991-92. Two of the authors were actually involved in the negotiations as representatives of the National Union of General Workers-Tokyo South District. The position taken by the IES was that it was acceptable practice to pay teachers as little as nothing (0 yen) for an entire month and then work them many hours of overtime in other months to meet the yearly total of 3,000,000 yen which was an average of 250,000 yen per month. IES actually had sponsorship privileges suspended by Immigration Authorities and subsequently restored. The issue has not been settled and constitutes a rather significant case study in and of itself.

3 The articles 89 and 106 of the Labour Standards Law of 1947 make the employer responsible for informing the employee of their rights - a law which is rarely upheld and is enforced only when a crises results from the lack of knowledge of the relative Labour Laws.

4 Wadden, Paul (1992). The dark side of employment at Japanese Universities: On discrimination against foreign teachers. ***TESOL Matters*** (April/May) page 17

5 Article 14 of the Japanese Constitution states that "All the people are equal under the law and there shall be no discrimination in political, economic and social relations because of race, creed, sex, social status or family origin." (This article also includes the restrictions on peerage and awards of distinction)

6 The Labour Standards Laws' General Provisions' article 3 states that "An employer shall not engage in discriminatory treatment with respect to wages, working hours or other conditions by reason of the nationality, creed or social status of any worker" and article 4 further delineates that "An employer shall not engage in discriminatory treatment of a woman as compared with a man with respect to wages by reason of the worker being a woman."

7 Law No. 89 "Law Concerning the Special Measure for the Appointment of Foreign Nationals as Faculty Members (Gaikokujin Kyoushi) at National Universities"

8 1992. ***Nikkei Weekly*** (June 27) page 12

9 1992. Education Notes ***Yomiuri Daily*** (October 29) page 9

10 Waller, Adrian (1990). Cover Story: an investigative report by Adrian Waller. ***The Japan Times Weekly*** (Sat., July 28) page 4.

11 In private, however, the information volunteered to unions and attorneys constitutes a veritable deluge. Prior to Kanto Teachers' Unions' Federation's presentation at the Annual JALT Conference in 1990 in Omiya, presenters Shiozawa Tadashii, Mark Fields and Thom Simmons were repeatedly approached on site at the conference by teachers from every area of language instruction who wanted advice about their situations or wanted to tell their stories of abuse and discrimination at the hands of administrations they were working for or had worked for. At that time and in the years that have followed, the testimonies have continued, but the number of people who are willing to come forth in public have remained very low. The reason they usually give is that they fear it will result in damage to their careers.

12 JACET (1983). ***General Survey of English Teaching at Colleges and Universities in Japan: Teachers' View***

13 JACET (1988). ***A General Survey of English Language Teaching: Junior High School and Senior High School, Primary School Education of Japanese Children Overseas***

14 The authors of this article have discussed the role JACET plays in the field of language

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

education and its ties to the government with a widely spread sampling of university teachers and post-secondary vocational school instructors. The question of JACET's subservient role to the Ministry of Education is a fairly common sentiment amongst those interviewed, so it must be stated that the status of teachers who responded and their recorded opinions should be investigated simply because JACET may not necessarily represent the findings of an independent organization – much the same as any report by any group or agency.

15 Nagai, Michio (1971). ***Higher Education in Japan: Its Takeoff and Crash***. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press page 228 "The revival of the traditional idea of the unity of the government and education (***seikyo itchii***) reinforced the supremacy of government bureaucracy. With the promulgation of the imperial rescript on education, this relationship was consolidated and a situation was created in which criticism was no longer permitted"

16 Nagai, Michio (1971). ***Higher Education in Japan: Its Takeoff and Crash***. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press page 229

17 Nagai, Michio (1971). ***Higher Education in Japan: Its Takeoff and Crash***. Toyko: University of Tokyo Press page 200

18 Nagai, Michio (1971). ***Higher Education in Japan: Its Takeoff and Crash***. Toyko: University of Tokyo Press page 236 "Todays educational world sacrifices respect for convictions of the individual teacher in the beautiful name of school unity and reduces the teacher to a common labourer whose job it is to instruct children"…Enosuke Ashida

19 Nagai, Michio (1971). ***Higher Education in Japan: Its Takeoff and Crash***. Toyko: University of Tokyo Press page 232 "The principles of ethical conduct as outlined in the imperial rescript on education began: "Subjects, be filial to your parents…bear yourselves in moderation, pursue learning, cultivate the arts and thereby promote intellectual abilities."…to advance the public good and promote common interests".

20 Nagai, Michio (1971). ***Higher Education in Japan: Its Takeoff and Crash***. Toyko: University of Tokyo Press page 203 "Moreover the Japanese themselves tend to exclude…minorities, hence the foreigners conspicuous absence in important positions in government offices, universities and large companies. Even at the national universities which should be the most liberal institutions, the full fledged professor is automatically a civil servant, and…must be a Japanese citizen."

21 Nagai, Michio (1971). ***Higher Education in Japan: Its Takeoff and Crash***. Toyko: University of Tokyo Press page 236 "In [Ishikawa] Takuboku's words, the politicized system in which pupils were required to "prostrate themselves before the Imperial Rescript and repeat endlessly the words of loyalty and filial piety" had "degenerated to extreme banality" producing men of "… inordinate docility and meekness …," who with "abject passivity hid shamelessly beneath their wives petticoats," from Ishikawa Takuboku's, "Kumo wa tensai de aru," in ***Jidai heisoku no genjou*** (The Stagnant Era)

22 Nagai, Michio (1971). ***Higher Education in Japan: Its Takeoff and Crash***. Toyko: University of Tokyo Press pages 247–248

23 Nagai, Michio (1971). ***Higher Education in Japan: Its Takeoff and Crash***. Toyko: University of Tokyo Press pages 237–238

24 Nagai, Michio (1971). ***Higher Education in Japan: Its Takeoff and Crash***. Toyko: University of Tokyo Press page 240 In 1918 there were more national and public universities built-

most of which were private. The tuition rates were forced up and part time lecturers became an economic necessity. Because of this instability in the faculty and other symptoms of inadequate funding, the universities became diploma mills – expansion of the universities did not strengthen education – expansion weakened it.

25 Nagai, Michio (1971). ***Higher Education in Japan: Its Takeoff and Crash***. Toyko University of Tokyo Press page 250

26 "Government May Slash Spending On School Cost" ***Daily Yomiuri*** Saturday, November 14 1992 (City Edition) The planned cutback on the government's share of the cost of compulsory education beginning in 1993 will go from 1/2 to 1/3 for a reduction of about ¥900 billion. This was being discussed as early as 1989 and threatens the wage security of 758,661 teachers in primary and middle schools exclusive of the staffs of private and national schools.

27 Cominos, A. (1992) "Managing change in foreign language education Interview with Minoru Wada" ***The Language Teacher*** (XVI: 11) pp3-7 & 13

28 Inoue J. (1992) "Team Teaching as a Cross Cultural Communication" ***The Language Teacher*** (XVI: 6) pp7-10

29 To illustrate this, students and graduates of a rather prominent vocational training school for simultaneous interpreters in the Tokyo area have commented that all the advanced students in the school were in fact "returnees". The only exceptions in past years were students who had begun their education in "international schools" in Japan. In other words, all the advanced simultaneous interpreter students were native speakers in both English and Japanese; there was no role the school could claim in actually training the students in the ability to simultaneously interpret. The only advantage to actually attending the school was the business connections of the owner who had by his own admission no idea what he was doing when he opened the school. The students themselves readily admitted that there was very little in the way of teaching that would benefit them after they graduated.

30 The government is currently embroiled in an attempt to reduce the number of Tokyo University graduates that are enlisted in the various ministries and give graduates from other universities a chance.

31 Bornmann, Gregory M. (1992). ***Japanese Universities: An In Depth Look*** (*Colloquium*). Conference Reports. ***The Language Teacher*** (XVI: 3) page 37 Curtis Kelly of Heian Women's College refers to this period as the time when the students develop their social self; a time when "play is not meaningless amusement, but rather the experimentation and experience that allows Japanese to complete a deferred maturation" C. Kelly's point of view may or may not be accurate, but there were no dissenting voices at the colloquium (Kobe, 1991, the Annual JALT Conference) to challenge his analysis of the contradictions many teachers are confronted with. His choice of words begs some interesting questions, however if the students' maturation has been deferred, to what are we to compare it, Japanese norms or non-Japanese norms? And if in fact it is deferred, does that mean it is arrested or retarded? This perspective opens a can of worms that may result in the indictment of the entire system (Retarding their social development can hardly be justified as a legitimate by-product of an "educational system".) or charges of "cultural imperialism" (By whose standards are they to be measured?). In either case it is worth pursuing.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

32 A common practice in post-secondary schools is to re-test students until they pass a course. This may sound like "mastery level" testing except the tests are usually a punishment for not coming to the exam at the required time, failure to do the required homework or something else. The test itself is not actually used to measure the students' achievement and they are routinely passed with only a show of an examination. While this may be anecdotal, the fact is, there are insufficient studies to refute what many post-secondary school graduates will readily admit to or what a preponderance of teachers complain about. Also it is the experience of many teachers the authors have interviewed over a period of years as well as that of the authors.

33 Shiozawa Tadashi, Simmons, T. L (1993). Dr. Ronald Wardhaugh's address on the features and principals of English conversation and discourse and their instruction in Japan. ***OPELT UPDATE*** (February) Chubu Daigaku. Dr. Ronald Wardhaugh, of Toronto University, Visiting Professor at Tsukuda Daigaku and the former director of the English Language Institute at the University of Michigan. In his address at the 24th Summer Linguistics Conference in Hakuba, 1992 on the topic of "Discourse and Conversation", Dr Wardhaugh made the same observation that in spite of the extensive study taking place, there is little authentic communication occurring after years of study.

34 Three teachers at a large multinational company ran an informal 18 month survey for more than 240 students ranging in age from 19 years old to 61. They had all graduated from high schools and less than 5% had not graduated from a post-secondary institution. The survey was very simple, it had two questions: (1) Did you speak English to anyone since the last class? (2) Did you read your lesson from last week and/or listen to the tape? Question number one got 10 to 20% weekly compliance and question number two got 10% or less each week. After the questions became a regular part of the class introduction each week, the numbers began to rise, but never got higher than 25%. Most classes were composed of about 20 students who met once a week for 2 hours. By the end of the second month, the attendance rate had dropped to a 60 to 75% range, so in fact the percentage of students who actually came to class would be more accurately in compliance with the survey parameters at a rate of about 30 to 45%.

35 Shiozawa, Tadashi taught for a number of years at a private school in Yamanashi Prefecture. The junior high school students test scores surpassed that of the national average. By the end of the first year in high school, however, the same students had regressed to the national average.

36 This may be illustrated by the labour dispute at an "American University" in Shinyokohama, Kanagawa, which lasted from December 1988 to the spring of 1991. The final chapter was finished when the school paid a compensation of about two months salary to each of six teachers who had been abusively dismissed. In negotiations with the owner, he referred to the non-Japanese as "Gypsies", because they did not stay in one place long and were only interested in money. It was a case of the pot calling the kettle black – the owner had changed school locations twice in two years and American college affiliates 4 times in 3 years. The school has since been closed and its last U. S. American affiliate has gone to Hokkaido.

37 ***Eigo Nenkan*** (English Yearbook) (1991). Tokyo: Kenkyusha. pp 199-482. The figures for full time teachers were current as of June 1989. They include shokutaku (contract teachers)

as well as tenured teachers. A number of the teachers listed have since ceased to teach at the institutions listed with their name which makes it clear that these figures are not reliable for determining the actual ratio of tenured and non-tenured teachers. Additionally, there is no information given with respect to nationality or gender.

38 Nagai, Michio (1971). ***Higher Education in Japan: Its Takeo off and Crash*** Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press. pp. 249-250 The part-timers received about 700-800 yen per lecture. The response was something like the response Henry Ford got for treating his workers as disposable, cheap labour - the workers returned the compliment. It was common at the time for the part-time professors to cancel classes whenever they got a better fee elsewhere. The reason for the niggardly scale of pay may very well have been that the private universities had been bankrupt for some time and were receiving about 29% of their income from bank loans and were spending 20% of their expenditures on repaying those loans.

39 Tuhus, Melinda (1992). ***Labor Notes*** Detroit: Labor Education & Research Project (Feb 155) page 16

40 Eigo Nenkan (1981) (English Yearbook). Tokyo: Kenkyusha. pp 249-432

41 Fields, M.,Shiozawa, T., Simmons, T. (1990) Why Good Teachers Have to Leave. Paper presented at the Annual JALT Conference in 1990 in Omiya, Japan

42 Wadden, Paul. (1992)

43 Asia University brochure for academic year 1990-91. Page 42. The visiting faculty (26) are limited to a maximum of three years. There are 174 full time faculty of which only one is non-Japanese. Of the part-time faculty, there is 264 of which 5 are non-Japanese. There are thirty-one non-Japanese teachers with limited employment and one non-Japanese with permanent employment.

44 Keio and Sophia Universities (to give prominent examples) typically limit the majority of their non-Japanese language faculty to a maximum of three years.

45 Tokyo Denki University (Tokyo) and Asia University (Tokyo) are two examples of schools that import groups of teachers who are usually qualified EFL/ESL teachers with graduate degrees. The reason for the large importation is ostensibly to set up a western style or international language programme that the teachers will implement and maintain. The reality is that the teachers' authority is completely co-opted. Additionally, they are completely uniformed of their rights under Japanese laws and thus do not know how to counter any of the school's discrimanatory policies and the programme is reduced to the same type of programme that many administrations operate to minimize teacher empowerment and professional development as is in any other institutions. The ultimate result is that the students get nothing they would not receive anywhere else and the entire programme discourages any of the teachers from attempting to build anything of lasting promise. To further complicate the situation and make it even more difficult to construct a progressive language programme, the teachers are dismissed after 2 to four years - a practice they rarely contest since they are unaware that such discrimination is illegal in Japan.

46 Labor Standards Law (1990) Article 14 (Law no. 49 of April 7, 1947) ***Labour laws of Japan 1990***. Ministry of Labour,Japan. Tokyo: The Institute of Labour Administration (Romu Gyosei Kenkyusho) page 63

47 Dougherty, Larry (1989) Foreign English teachers increasingly organize into unions. ***The***

Japan Times (Aug. 23) page 12. Mr. Dougherty covered a significant number of incidences related to the labour dispute at one of the American branch compuses in Kanagawa. He was provided with a great deal of information that was given to the Kanagawa Labour Commission. His interview of Mr. Tsukitani of the Shinjuku Rousei (Labour Administration of Shinjuku) was consistent with the interviews union legations had with the Ministry of Labour.

48 The Shinjuku Rousei sponsors six meetings a year with the labour unions and has maintained a significant profile in the disputes that occur in the Eikaiwa and the vocational post-secondary schools. On the 22nd of October, 1991 the Kanto Teachers' Unions' Federation held its first in a series of meetings with the regional labour authorities under the auspices of Director Tsukitani of the Unions' and Foreigners' Section.

49 Some of the teachers who contributed to this article informed Labour Administration officials of a plan to pass out the ***Labour Standards Handbook for Foreigners***, published by the Metropolitan Tokyo Government. The Tokyo Metropolitan officials responded by telling the teachers to be secretive when handing the handbook out or they would probably be dismissed by the school.

50 Malicious intent is hardly limited to conversation schools or small unknown institutions. In one case the president of a university in Hiroshima refused to renew the contract of a non-Japanese teacher who had been full-time with the university for more than ten years. According to him the dismissal was solely on the basis of the teacher's nationality and involved the implementation of alleged university policies which were not in fact accepted in principal or practice by the university faculty or administration. The teacher was forced to resort to legal channels and the case was about $2\frac{1}{2}$ years in court. The teacher was vindicated and the president is no longer presiding at the university. In spite of the obvious aberration the president's actions represented, the university did provide legal expenses for the president while he was the defendant in a civil suit. In another case, one of the authors received written notice that he was too old to teach at a national university. The author was forty years old.

51 Morton, Deutsch (1992). Typical Responses to Conflict ***Educational Leadership*** (50-1) Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, Alexandria, VA

52 One instructor who resigned from a fairly prominent English conversation chain in the early part of 1992, took his contract to the Labour Inspection Office of Kanagawa Prefecture. The Labour Inspection officers brought in a university law professor who was proficient in English, since the officers were not capable of understanding the convoluted English of the contract. What the professor and the officers were confronted with in the contract was so blatantly illegal that they initially doubted the authenticity of the contract. The teacher then had to produce a number of supporting documents to show that the policies in the contract were in fact carried out by the employer before the Labour Inspection officers would believe what they were reading. The same company has since issued written directives that temployees involved in union activity will be dismissed - in violation of the Japanese Constitutional guarantees.

53 There are teachers and administrator who see everything as a cultural, moral or national security issues. Sometimes the extremes are both alarming and hilarious. There were accusations by the administration at an American universities' branch campus in Yokohama that the

Kanagawa National Union of General Workers were communist. It was totally baseless, but it was a major cause of emotional stress for many of the U.S. Americans and the Japanese of the "Cold War Generation". In another case, a teacher at a senmon gakko in Tokyo discovered that there was a mistake of about 2,000 yen on a bank transfer for payment of salary. The teacher angrily confronted a member of the Japanese staff with the discrepancy in abusive terms. Not only was the staff member uninvolved with any bookkeeping practices, but the staff member had a limited ability to follow rapid, colloquial English spoken in a very loud and threatening voice. The teacher, a U.S. American, escalated the issue until the school was established (in the mind of the teacher) as a military target on a par with a certain head of state in North Africa whose house had suffered direct hits from missiles fired from U.S. American military aircraft. It was, to onlookers, a matter of great hilarity until it became evident that the staff member was very distressed. Non-Japanese faculty intervened for the Japanese staff member and made it clear to that person that the actions of the teacher were clearly out of order. Eventually the teacher's tirade was dismissed as the abuse that it constituted. It is not uncommon for the indignation over perceived and actual infractions to be expressed in such unrealistic terms. However, it must be said that they are usually presented to third parties after the problem has been minimized for a lengthy period of time and are probably the symptoms of pent up anger and frustration – not the normal social interactions of many of the people involved.

54 The 'transferred trouble maker' is a fairly common practice in Japan and it does not seem to be unique to any nationality. The authors have encountered college and university administrators who were sent to administrative positions in branch campuses in Japan, because they were initiating conflict on the home campus in North America or Britain. One recent case involving a branch campus of a small college from the eastern U.S.A. was precipitated by an administrator who dismissed a teacher after the teacher had been promoted and received a lot of responsibility from the college in recognition for his competence and the support he received from the other teachers. After nearly two years including litigation in the Tokyo district court, the teacher was compensated for the balance of the contract and the U.S. American administrator was stripped of authority.

55 A current case at an English conversation school in Tokyo involves the ill considered acts of one administrator who had actually been transferred to a position away from most of the staff, Japanese and non-Japanese, to the company's office in Shibuya. At one point in a confrontation, the administrator had to be led away by a superior for initiating acts of violence against members of the teachers' union as the incident was being taped on video.

References

Bornmann, Gregory M. (1992). Japanese Universities: An in-depth look (Colloquium). Conference Reports. ***The Language Teacher*** 16 (3) page 37

Cominos, A. (1992). Managing change in foreign language education: Interview with Minoru Wada. ***The Language Teacher*** 16 (11), 3-7, 13.

Daily Yomiuri. (1989). Japan and me. Tokyo: Yomiuri Shinbun.

Daily Yomiuri. (1992). Education Notes. (Oct. 29, p. 9). Tokyo: Yomiuri Shinbun.

Eigo Nenkan English Yearbook. (1991). (pp. 192-482). Tokyo: Kenkyusha.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Fields, Mark, et, al. (1990). Why good teachers have to leave? Paper read at the annual international JALT conference in Omiya, Japan.

Inoue, J. (1992). Team teaching as a cross-cultural communication. *The Language Teacher* 16 (3), 7-10.

Labor laws of Japan. (1990), (p. 63). Tokyo: The Institute of Labor Administration.

Koike, Ikuo. (1983). *A general survey of English teaching at colleges and universities in Japan-Teachers views*. Tokyo: JACET.

——(1988). *A general survey of English language teaching: Junior high school and senior high school primary school education of Japanese children overseas*. Tokyo: JACET.

Labour and Economic Affairs Bureau. (1991). *Handbook of the employment of foreign workers and labor-related problems*. Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Government Office.

Morton, Deutsch. (1992). Typical responses to conflict. *Education Leadership*. 50: 1. Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.

Nagai, Michio. (1971). *Higher education in Japan: its take off and crash*. (pp. 249-250). Tokyo: Tokyo University Press.

Nikkei Weekly. (1992). (June 27, p. 12). Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shinbun.

Shiozawa, T & Simmons, T. (1993). Discourse and conversation: a report on Dr. Wardhaugh's presentation at Hakuba, 1992. *OPELT Update*. February issue.

The Times Higher Education Supplement (1989) Teachers rubbish standards of US colleges in Japan. (Nov. 8, p. 9) London: London Times.

Tuhus, Melinda. (1992). Yale unions prepare for another strike. *Labor Notes Detroit: Labor Education and Research Project*. Feb: 152-16.

Wadden, Paul. (1992). The dark side of employment at Japanese universities: On discrimination against foreign teachers. *TESOL Matters*. 2 (2), 17.

Waller, Adrian. (1990). Cover story: an investigative report by Adrian Waller. *The Japan Times Weekly*. (July 28, p. 4))

Wordell, Charles et. al. (1992). *Teach English in Japan*. Tokyo: Japan Times.